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This report is a biographical sketch of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej; his origin, early life, political career, relations with Moscow, personal life, and some comments on other leading figures in the Rumanian Communist Party.

1. The struggle for power between Ana Pauker and Gheorghiu-Dej and their respective cliques had been going on for a long time. Each accused the other of corruption, deviation from the line of the Moscow Politburo and the Cominform, encouragement of Rumanian elements hostile to the Soviet Union, and so forth. The Kremlin knew well the cleverness and intellectual capacity of Ana Pauker and her services in furthering Communism in Rumania, but it also did not overlook the facts that Gheorghiu-Dej was the unquestioned leader of the Rumanian Workers' Party, possessed its confidence, and that he had much greater experience and familiarity with the practical field of Communist agitation in Rumania and was as capable of carrying it on with success. In addition, it was known in Moscow that Ana Pauker was unpopular in Rumania, in fact she was hated by the working class. Her Jewish origin played a part not to be underrated in this respect.
2. After much backing and filling, the Kremlin was apparently convinced that the retention of Ana Pauker could only be forced upon the Rumanian Communist Party by Moscow's support. An open warning followed in the dismissal of Vasile Luca from the post of Finance Minister. Luca belonged to the Pauker clique. He was accused of everything with which a boss of the regime could be charged. Any observer could now predict that further attacks against the Pauker circle would follow. The method was the well known old one: a new make-up of the Rumanian Politburo was

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announced, in which Ana Pauker's name was omitted. After a few more days came the main attack: the appointment of Gheorghiu-Dej as Prime Minister. Petru Groza, who had only served until now to smother and conceal the struggle between Pauker and Gheorghiu-Dej, was finally shoved aside and as payment for his submissiveness he received the unimportant post of president of the National Assembly.

3. Gheorghiu-Dej was born on 8 November 1901<sup>1</sup> at Barlad, Moldavia, of a working class family. His father, Tanase Gheorghiu, worked in the local small industries. The extreme poverty of his parents' home strongly influenced the development of young Gheorghiu's character and his later attitude to the labor problem. He had to go to work at the age of 11. At 15 he was an electrician apprentice with the Steaua-Romana at Moinești, Moldavia. His training as an electrician was completed in the oil industry at Campina.
4. In 1917 Gheorghiu was a witness to the rebellion of the Russian soldiers on the Moldavian front. The soldier committees which were established impressed him strongly. His revolutionary opinions were reinforced by the frequent strikes at that time among the workers in the oil industry. He took an active part therein and distinguished himself as an organizer of groups to fight the strike-breakers.
5. In 1921 he was in Galati, working in the street railway shops. Organization of the Communist Party in Rumania began in this year. In 1923 he was called to military service. He served with the 3 Pioneer Regiment at Focsani. Here he became a top-name "Bolshevist." He was imprisoned several times as punishment for revolutionary activities during his period of service.
6. After completing his term of military service Gheorghiu worked for the Galati Street Railway Company. The Rumanian labor unions at that time were led by sensible elements, who tried to keep the workers out of the "class war." Gheorghiu, however, proposed leading the workers to better pay by the revolutionary road. For this he was summarily dismissed. Shortly thereafter he found employment with the large Gotz & Company saw works in Galati, and later he worked again in the street railway shops.
7. The Fourth Congress of the Rumanian Labor Party, in 1928, proposed to effect a union with the Bolshevists, but this was not accomplished because the later congress of the labor union at Timisoara in 1929 voted to exclude the Communist syndicate. This left the latter no alternative but to proceed illegally. The more radical workers in the railway shops organized an extensive underground activity. Gheorghiu was a member of the syndical committee. In this capacity he came into closer association with the Communist party organization and became a Party member. His task was to organize a party cell in the railway workshops. Later, the larger responsibility of local organizer of the party was transferred to him. In 1931 he was sent to Bucharest as a delegate to the national conference of the so-called "Dead Opposition."
8. In August 1931 Gheorghiu was transferred from the workshops at Galati to those at Dej as disciplinary punishment for his agitation activities. This is how he acquired his name-suffix "Dej." At Dej he immediately organized a local section of the Red AMR (Workers' Aid Organization of the Labor Union). At the general meeting of the railway workers of Dej, he offered a manifesto for a program that accorded with the Communist Party line. Its main point was a stimulation of strike activity as a means of forwarding the workers' rebellion.

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9. In 1932, at a meeting of Communist workers in the industrial centers, Gheorghiu-Dej was made secretary of the Organization Committee. In the summer of 1932 a syndical conference was held at Galati under his leadership, at which Communist infiltration of the labor unions was resolved upon. About this time an open letter of Gheorghiu-Dej's was published in the bulletin of the "Action Committee for Peace." It was an analysis of the supposed war preparations of the Western Powers against the Soviet Union.
10. Following the party conference of 1932 Gheorghiu-Dej was secretary of the Central Committee and a member of the General Council of the Communist syndicate. Both regional action committees, at Cluj and Galati, were under his personal control. He organized a mass demonstration in the railroad workshops at Dej, immediately following which the shops were closed and most of the workers dismissed or transferred to shops in other parts of the country. Gheorghiu-Dej was arrested and held, first at Iasi and then at Bucharest. Released from arrest in the autumn of 1932, he went as a delegate of the Communist syndicate to the International Labor Conference in Berlin.
11. Then came the first great mass demonstrations in the railroad shops at Grivita and Bucharest, which Gheorghiu-Dej organized. The goal was recognition of the shop labor committees and a 20 percent raise in pay. When these demands were not realized, there followed strikes and the occupation of the shops by the workers. The government tried to arrange a compromise, but found itself compelled to declare a state of emergency. On 14 February 1933, two days after the strike had been put down by the army, Gheorghiu-Dej was arrested. He and some hundred strikers were brought before a military court. During the trial Gheorghiu-Dej declared that these strikes were organized and led by the Communist Party. He was sentenced to 12 years' hard labor.
12. He was in the prisons of Vacaresti, Craiova, Ocnele-Mari and Aiud. In 1937 he was at the Doftana prison, where he met other well known Communists like Vasile Luca, Alexandru Moghioros and Chivu Stoica. In 1938 he was recognized as a "political prisoner", which meant that he could receive visitors and books, and could work in the prison shops. The Doftana prison was destroyed by an earthquake on the night of 9-10 November 1940, and the prisoners were transferred to Caransebes. Here Gheorghiu-Dej met Ana Pauker.
13. Gheorghiu-Dej, with other Communists, was employed in the Targu-Jiu labor camp in September 1943. He was in the camp hospital in the spring of 1944 and there met Emil Bodinaras, who later became Defense Minister, but at that time had been engaged in organizing Communist Party armed fighting groups.
14. In mid-August 1944, after 11 years' imprisonment, Gheorghiu-Dej escaped from the labor camp. After the Rumanian collapse of 23 August 1944, he began to stir up the people against the newly established democratic government.
15. From 4 November 1944 Gheorghiu-Dej held the post of Minister of Communications in the new government. His appointment was arranged by the Soviet Government, on the ground that it was necessary to the security of their troops in Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. The last government in Rumania, retaining some trace of autonomy, that of General Radescu, was overthrown by the Communists on 6 March 1945.
16. The National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party took place in October 1945. Here Gheorghiu-Dej was named General Secretary of the Party and President of the Government Economic Council. During his first

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visit to Moscow, in January 1945, he had consolidated his personal political position with the Soviet powers and was commissioned by them to do everything he could to accelerate Rumanian economic concessions to the Soviet Union. When Gheorghe Tatarescu, the liberal dissident, proposed a smaller council for carrying out the economic plan, the Communists seized the opportunity to make Gheorghiu-Dej the instrument for the economic sovietization of the country.

17. In his capacity as Minister of Communications Gheorghiu-Dej was won over by the big industrialist Nicolae Malaxa to his railroad building program, which for Malaxa was coupled with large commissions. For this he was laden with gifts by Malaxa, including considerable sums of money and a beautiful villa in Bucharest. A month after his appointment as Communications Minister he gave the Malaxa works orders to the amount of two milliards of lei. As a result of this deal substantial sums came into the treasury of the Communist Central Committee. Shortly thereafter Gheorghiu-Dej became Minister of Public Works, and in December 1945, Minister of Economy in the new government of Petru Groza. Gheorghiu-Dej's economic line from the beginning was that prescribed in advance by the Kremlin: advancement of the country through industrialization. This was shown in his newspaper article and his speeches, which were published in brochure form in 1951. Industrialization and subsequent proletarianization of the country were the main goals of the five-year plan, according to his own words.
18. At the plenary session of the Rumanian Communist Party Central Committee in July 1946, Gheorghiu-Dej attacked in sharpest terms the supposed nationalistic tendencies in Rumania and denounced the so-called "chauvinistic provocationism" of Patrascanu, who, charged with being an agent of Western imperialism, was dismissed as Minister of Justice and arrested.
19. After the forced abdication of King Michael I at the end of 1947, the whole machinery of the country was reformed on the lines of the Marx-Lenin principles. The Communist front was replaced by the "single" Rumanian Labor Party (February 1948). The Government was also reformed and all non-Communist ministers had to give up their posts. Gheorghiu-Dej became deputy Prime Minister (13 April 1948) and simultaneously a member of the Politburo and the Organization Bureau of the PMR (Rumanian Labor Party).
20. Gheorghiu-Dej was charged with the supervision of the national economic plans for the first two years, 1949 and 1950. In his report to the plenary session of the PMR Central Committee (3-5 March 1949) he dealt with the problem of cooperation between the industrial proletariat and the peasantry. He recommended the retention of the middling peasant properties, which he viewed as the key to raising the conditions of the villages. He made from this formula a principle for realizing the "social reconstruction" of agriculture. In this connection he emphasized, in opposition to the Ana Pauker group, the necessity of the free consent of the peasantry to collectivization.
21. Besides his work in connection with the first five-year plan, he applied himself to the program for the electrification of the country, for the realization of which he worked vigorously. In his "Articles and Speeches" he emphasized the lack of criticism and self-criticism among officials.
22. In contrast to Ana Pauker, Gheorghiu-Dej was always regarded as a true representative of the Rumanian working class. He never gave up his Rumanian citizenship -- again in contrast to Ana Pauker, Luca and Bodnaras, who became Soviet citizens. In the new light of the Stalinist doctrine, he is a true son of the people as Moscow sees it.

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23. Although Ana Pauker was not only a member of the Cominform, but like Luca, a former functionary of the Comintern, Gheorghiu-Dej was commissioned by Moscow to prepare the report for the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform (November 1949). There already was a sign of the side Moscow had chosen in the struggle between the two.
24. Gheorghiu-Dej was steadily insistent on making the Marx-Lenin doctrine his own, but he did not forget, by his own words, to remain true to the new directive of "his beloved comrade Stalin." He showed himself a sturdy fighter against every deformation or deviation. And therein lies the explanation of his success.
25. Petru Groza, the former Prime Minister and present President of the National Assembly, was and is a tool for covering the power play behind the Rumanian Communist scene. As long as Moscow had not decided to place political power in Rumania formally in the hands of Gheorghiu-Dej, because it believed the strings could be better manipulated through a balance weight between the Ana Pauker and the Gheorghiu-Dej groups, Groza was needed to camouflage the comedy. Now he is rewarded with a post of no political importance. Gheorghiu-Dej has become the Soviet head puppet in Rumania; but the real power in Rumania remains with the Central Committee of the PMR, which is the sole organ for receiving orders and carrying out important decisions of the Kremlin.
26. The danger points in the policy of Gheorghiu-Dej are the agrarian policy, the carrying through of collectivization, and the problem of Rumanian goods deliveries to the Soviet Union. Moscow appears to understand that in Rumania a balance between the production of the country and the resulting development of Communism is necessary. This concurrence of Moscow's in the Gheorghiu-Dej point of view is quite remarkable: it amounts to nothing less than recognition of a declared Rumanian concept and thereby a Rumanian national brand of Communism. For Moscow it is an experiment; for Gheorghiu-Dej a hazard that may cost him his life.
27. Gheorghiu-Dej has grown up in a hard school. He understands, in spite of his submissiveness to the Soviet power, how to remain a popular Rumanian Communist leader. Like every climber, he bends his entire energy and his innate intelligence to making himself an important party-fellow. He has always shown great eagerness to learn. His colleagues say he is slow and self-minded, but has genuine ability. He is not ashamed to show his ignorance in technical and economic problems and does not hesitate to let himself be instructed until he understands fully. He learned some French in prison. He now leads a luxurious life in the elegant villa Karmitz, which is located on the beautiful Soceaua Kisselef in Bucharest, not far from Ana Pauker's neighborhood. He also has a country house in Predeal (the property of the former Prime Minister Ion Gigurtu). He has at his disposal two American automobiles: a Buick and a Lincoln, both bought in Switzerland. He is clothed by the best tailors of Bucharest, Leonard and Kovalciuk. The brother of Gheorghiu-Dej works in a small factory in Barlad. He never has contact with his brother.
28. Gheorghiu-Dej is separated from his wife, and this has given rise to a certain amount of scandal in Bucharest in spite of his efforts to hush the matter up. His wife was, until 1944, a household employee of the merchant Smyrnais in Galati. He has two daughters. The elder, Vasilica, studied at the Institute of Economic Knowledge and Planning (formerly the Business Academy). Although married to a captain of the People's Police, she keeps her father's name in order to show whose daughter she is. She is 24, small, dark and plump, with good manners and middling

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intelligence. Her wedding was celebrated at Gheorghiu-Dej's house in the old boyar style, two days running. The younger daughter is 17. She attended the French school of Notre Dame de Sion in Bucharest (closed since 1948). Gheorghiu-Dej has his love affairs, especially one with the well-known actress Elvira Godeanu.

29. Like nearly all the government bosses, members of the National Assembly, the party Central Committee, and the like, Gheorghiu-Dej receives a comparatively high salary, amounting to 200,000 lei (old currency) per month. An average worker can hardly earn 4,000 lei per month.
30. Gheorghiu-Dej's household buys in the special provision markets and clothing stores where the best goods, at very high prices, are only for the bosses of the regime.
31. Gheorghiu-Dej has been honored by Moscow with the title "Champion of Social Labor" and with the gold medal of the "Hammer and Sickle." Factories at Hunedoara (steel works) and Doicești (thermo-electricity) bear his name. On his 50th birthday the Bolshevik Party Central Committee sent him a telegram of congratulation, something that only happens when the Kremlin wishes to bestow a special mark of favor.

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[ ] Comment: It has not been established whether Dej was born in 1901 or 1903. The latter year, with no month indicated, is usually given in official communications.

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